

PEACE NEWS

• For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 624

June 11th, 1948

THREE PENCE

Trial Period— for Ministers

ALTHOUGH it has been suggested that if Cleopatra's nose had been longer human history would have been very different, one can hardly blame the lady for nasal moderation. But if a kingdom was lost through lack of a nail in a horse's hoof one might, perhaps, censure the farrier. Both instances are illustrations of the relationship between seemingly remote irrelevancies and significant events. There is no end to the exploration of the complex determinism in human

COMMENTARY

by

Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

affairs, although, as in the second illustration, one may postulate that the intrusion of choice distinguishes one sort of causation from another.

Into what category should be placed the fact that if some post-war pathological individuals had been born girls instead of boys the Government would not now be faced with a possible constitutional crisis? Women rarely murder, and commit far less indictable crimes than men, although more prone to neurotic breakdown. Therefore, the more homicidal behaviour of men has so alarmed 70 per cent. of the public and nearly all the Peers as to stir the latter into rejecting the majority proposal of the House of Commons that capital punishment should be experimentally abolished for five years.

The Government can either give way to the Upper House or insist that democratic decision shall be accepted. If it does the former it will encourage a feudalistic anachronism to claim popular support. It it resolutely persists with the Commons' decision then, unless the Lords agree to their own limitation of residual constitutional power, it would have to seek the country's support in an election. In view of other legislative obligations it will not precipitate an electoral contest in which it would be unscrupulously designated the "Murderers' Friend" and its further political power be hanging in the balance. It is most probable that a compromise will be accepted, and as the Lords have also modified the proposed abolition of corporal punishment by retaining birching, maybe the two Houses will agree that in future murderers shall simply be half-hanged.

Uncommon sense

MEANWHILE, we may ponder on the fact that 70 per cent. of our fellow citizens wish to retain capital punishment, many on grounds of primitive vengeance, and some of these in the belief that "an eye for an eye" is a shorthand summary of the Sermon on the Mount. The reaction of that 70 per cent. is illuminating and salutary, and emphasises the distance between the humanitarian democratic pioneers and the average elector, who is too exhausted studying football pools to scrutinise earnest pamphlets, or who firmly believes that only degenerate sentimentalists are rational students of criminology.

If we patronisingly dismiss popular dissent as evidence of moral immaturity should we do likewise respecting educated peers, prelates and parsons? Surely we are impressed by the qualified ecclesiastical endorsement of the atom bomb and the gallows almost simultaneously with the solemn clerical endeavour to

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

THREE YEARS' FOR SCHOOLBOY WHO WILL NOT FIGHT

NEWS that an eighteen-year-old conscientious objector, Peter Green, had been sentenced to a term not exceeding three years in a Borstal Institution, for refusal to comply with the National Service Act, last week resulted in vigorous protests from the people of Plaistow, London, where the boy lives.

The Headmaster of Plaistow Grammar School, where Peter Green was to have entered for the School Certificate Exam. this year, is understood to have circulated a letter to parents in the neighbourhood, stating the facts of the case and inviting them to take appropriate action.

The local Liberal Party, at one of its open-air meetings over the weekend, carried a resolution of protest against the severity of the sentence, which is thought to be the first of its kind. Although Peter Green is within the age-range for which a sentence of detention in a Borstal

Institution is suitable, he does not appear to satisfy any of the other conditions, never having been previously convicted, and not being a person of such criminal habits or tendencies as to make instruction and discipline of a "reformatory" nature appropriate.

On the contrary, he is clearly a boy of courage and independence of mind, as well as of the good conduct and lively intelligence to which his Headmaster testified.

The explanation for his refusal to register he gave to the Essex Quarter Sessions at Chelmsford on

June 2, was that the National Service Act was a measure that would lead to war, and on that account he had decided to accept no responsibility for its implementation. He was apparently influenced by the discussion on conscription held at the AGM of the Peace Pledge Union.

If military training was really the will of the majority in this country, he added, men would be flocking into the Forces without the need for compulsion.

Peter Green conveyed the reasons for his refusal to register under the National Service Act to the Ministry of Labour early this year. The Ministry apparently placed him on the Military Service Register, and he was called up for medical examination.

For not complying with this order, he appeared three times before the Stratford Magistrates, and was finally committed to trial, on May 21, bail being allowed.

The Chairman of the Chelmsford Quarter Sessions, Mr. Linton Thorp, asked Peter Green whether he would submit to examination if the case was adjourned until the next Sessions. Once again he affirmed his determination to stand by his decision, and a verdict of "Guilty" was passed.

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors are, of course, concerned with the legal aspects of the case, and are taking Counsel's advice on the matter. But those readers who feel that the sentence is altogether too savage a one to be passed on a schoolboy of eighteen should send letters of protest to their MPs or to the Home Secretary.

Your loyalty is to the human race

DON'T HANDLE ARMS

—Dr. A. D. Belden

"Believing that an armaments race can only result in war, this public meeting of Peckham citizens urges H.M. Government to adopt the alternative of total unilateral disarmament, for great as the risks may be, it believes that the consequences could not possibly be so serious as those of continuing the present policy."

THIS resolution was passed at a meeting organised last week by the Peckham group of the Peace Pledge Union and addressed by Sybil Morrison, Dr. A. D. Belden and Jack Sutherland.

Bryan Anstey, from the chair, reminded the audience that the Peace Pledge Union was a body uniting those who renounced the use of war, although they might hold different views of how best to strive for peace, and disagree in their religious, political and economic approaches to the many problems of the day.

Sybil Morrison, pointing to the futility of war and its failure to do more than sow the seeds of further wars, declared that now was the time to see that the public—a large section of which already accepted the fact that to wage war was immoral—was well informed of the possible alternatives to war.

CHOOSING EVIL

Many people she said, chose war as the lesser of two evils; thinking that they had only the choice of evils. "You could not continue to live your lives if your only choice was between various evils all the days of your life. There must be a choice of good."

When it came to choosing between war and the loss of freedom the choice should be renunciation of war and resistance to tyranny.

Dr. Belden, in a fierce denunciation of the leaders of the people in every sphere, Government, Church and War Office, deplored the inactivity of the Church in the face of the threat of war.

"I say shame on the clergy of Peckham that not one of them has thought fit to come tonight to this meeting to prevent war. Have they forgotten what Christianity is? The acceptance of the use of the atomic bomb by some of the leaders of the Church is far worse than anything that has come out of Soviet Russia."

Turning to the question of what could be done to prevent war, Dr. Belden said that the simplest method was to take away from Governments their chief weapon—humanity. Governments could supply as many arms as they wished, but if the people refused to use them, then humanity

won. This direct action of refusal to participate in war or prepare for it was both healthy and moral. Man's first loyalty was to the human race—not to this nation or to Europe. "When man will stand by his brother man this thing will be ended."

Pointing out that the latest developments of the atomic bomb made it possible for one projectile to devastate an area of 2,000 square miles, Dr. Belden said: "I am often told that I shouldn't frighten people by telling them of the fate awaiting them in a future war—the Government, however, will not hesitate to frighten them when it is necessary to bring them into a war."

"I would rather have you frightened now, when you can do something, than when you can't do anything about it."

LABOUR'S DESERTION

After a passing reference to the General Staff as "public scoundrels," Dr. Belden expressed his anger at the Labour Party's desertion of Keir Hardie's attitude towards militarism and their advocacy of military conscription.

Jack Sutherland outlined some of the activities of peace movements in other countries and then appealed for support for a campaign for peace in a smaller sphere being organised by the local group of the Peace Pledge Union. Later, when the meeting was thrown open for questions and discussion a young Communist ex-serviceman declared that he would pledge himself to renounce war and join the Peace Pledge Union.

After the original resolution had been slightly amended it was carried with only two dissentients.

FOOTNOTE: This meeting had been publicised in much the same way as a successful meeting organised by the Willesden PPU Group and addressed by Stuart Morris and Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale some weeks earlier. On both occasions the halls were filled, clearly demonstrating the public's willingness to hear the pacifist case when a small group will energetically present it to them.

JOE LOUIS WEIGHS IN

—on behalf of
Negro Resisters

JOE LOUIS, heavyweight champion of the world, has urged united action by Negro veterans against the enactment of a race-discriminating military conscription programme in the USA.

In a cablegram from London, released by the U.S. Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service and Training, Louis criticised the Army's "rigid determination to maintain its jimcrow policies." The statement was sent to the Senate Armed Services Committee which has been holding hearings on revival of Selective Service and Universal Military Training.

"It is time that we veterans who suffered while in uniform the humiliation of jimcrow trains, jimcrow restaurants, jimcrow railroad stations, jimcrow Army barracks, and even jimcrow telephone booths, to rise up in every corner of the land and say, in one massive voice 'This shall not happen to our younger brothers. This is more than men with spines will endure,'" Louis wrote the Senate Committee.

"I call upon all decent Americans to demand that any peacetime draft—whether UMT or Selective Service—be free of all segregation and discrimination. I urge every member of Congress to insist upon a full programme of civil rights, to be included in any draft law so that Negroes in the uniform of the United States may be protected from mob violence, police brutality, and indignities. It is time for all Negroes—parents, sisters, wives, and the men in danger of being drafted—to let Congress, the nation and the world know in unmistakable terms that they will not accept this would-be permanent curse, which would be decked out in the same old jimcrow garments."

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stamford Hill 2262

DEMOCRACY— A WEAKNESS

SOME weeks ago a young Berliner who had been touring this country was asked what aspect of British life had impressed him most. Unhesitatingly and enthusiastically he answered: the almost complete unanimity of opinion which prevailed among the British people.

His questioner was taken aback: this boy, he knew, had been passionately opposed to the streamlining of expression by the Nazis. What was it that all the British agreed on?

"Why," came the explanation, "In Britain nobody questions the opinion that every point of view should be heard, and decisions be reached through discussion."

This comment is illuminating. The average Englishman takes democratic procedure so much as a matter of course that it seldom even occurs to him that it presupposes a positive conviction which all parties must share, whatever their disagreements upon such secondary issues as the public or private ownership of industry. The very thing which, to an outsider, is most striking in the British landscape, is that which least often strikes him. Yet as G. K. Chesterton said:

"The thing which is really required for the proper working of democracy is not merely the democratic system, or even the democratic philosophy, but the democratic emotion. . . . It is a certain instinctive attitude which feels the things in which men all agree to be unspeakably important, and all the things in which they differ (such as mere brains) to be almost unspeakably unimportant."

Our unconsciousness of this presupposition, while it may be a sign of strength—inasmuch as the democratic emotion has in truth become almost an instinctive attitude—is also a source of weakness to Britain.

For one thing, it blinds many Englishmen to the problems of other nations. We imagine that the apparatus of political democracy has only to be set up in any part of the world for its virtues to make themselves felt; and when, as more often happens, its vices become unendurable, we look for the explanation in some mysterious superiority peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon race.

Again, it is this that is mainly responsible for our inability to understand the totalitarians. Ignorant of the premiss of our own thought, we do not realise that premisses may differ. Insensibly we try to fit their words and actions into the familiar framework of our own, with deceptive and disastrous results.

Finally, because we value democracy and yet disregard the emotion which is essential to its success, we all too easily allow ourselves to be seduced into defending democracy by means which violate that emotion.

We forget that toleration was only gradually and painfully established in this country; that it had to be fought for, and often died for, by the pioneers of several generations; and that it is still a precarious achievement.

Too many of us are living on the capital accumulated by those pioneers. Their conviction has become our habit. It is essential, if democracy is to endure, that we should become conscious of our presuppositions, and not only conscious of their nature, but capable of defending them rationally.

Apart from the democratic emotion, democracy is a shell or a slogan. But the democratic emotion itself needs to be reinforced by the democratic philosophy. Heads must be at one with hearts. Chesterton himself confessed that he had lost the democratic emotion, and would have lost his belief in democracy had it not been enshrined in "the casket of a creed." It was, he too who uttered this paradox: "the democracy must be taught democracy."

WHY BRITAIN MUST DISARM

TODAY the world is confronted with an economic and a military impasse. It will help to clarify the present world situation if it be borne in mind that all the war tensions of the last forty years have arisen in the West, or as a result of the power politics of the Western industrial Powers, with the one exception of Japan, who entered the war arena when she launched into industrialism 50 or 60 years ago.

The recent war purged all the little nations of West and North West Europe of whatever military ambitions they ever had. Before 1914 the Belgian soldier, for example, had considerable significance. He figured prominently in the Belgian scene, and travellers noticed him. He symbolised prosperity and power even in a country as small as Belgium. The fall of Liege, in 1914, and the German occupation which followed, hurled Belgian militarism into the twilight of a permanent eclipse.

The significance of that eclipse was grasped by all the small nations from Finland to Portugal. Thereafter Switzerland, fortified by her formidable mountains, was the only small country in Europe to acquire a measure of security in militarism.

Only policy—neutrality

The effect of this situation was to make neutrality the only logical policy for this group of nations in the inter-war years. At the same time, a growing fear of the industrial and military giants made it impossible for most of them to put their trust in logic. Hence they armed in varying degrees, no doubt in the belief that this might buy their independence should necessity force them under the wing of one of the big Powers.

The phenomenal advance of military mechanisation after the first World War dwarfed still further the military significance of this group, and thus intensified the danger of the least departure from the policy of neutrality. It is noteworthy that their most effective resistance to the Nazis was of the non-military variety.

Today the demands of atomic war in man-power, machine-power and money-power, have so completely changed the world's economic and political contours, that only two nations are in a position to meet them, namely the U.S. and Russia. As these two Powers occupy the ideologically opposite poles in the modern world, the issue of the third world war now rests in their hands.

Unfair to Sir Stafford

IN view of the fair and detached analysis of current events which is usually characteristic of your Commentary, I am surprised at the grossly unfair attack made by Cyril Hughes upon Sir Stafford Cripps on May 28.

I see no inconsistency in Sir Stafford's speeches to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and to the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce.

There is nothing un-Christian in a call for increased production for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the people, not only of this country but of the world. If we do not attempt to increase our own slender resources, how can we be in a position to give assistance to Germany and other war-stricken countries of Europe? Is striving to repair the ravages of war to be described as "placating Mammon?" "Even a Christian must remember the export drive," says Cyril Hughes. His words are more true than he realises.

His final remark concerning the export of arms to the Holy Land appears to have been made in order to convey the implication that Sir Stafford approves of this particular export, whilst not providing a particle of proof that this necessarily is the case.

S. E. WEBB.

35 Seymour Road,
Gloucester.

Pacifists and Socialists

CYRIL HUGHES' remarks in his Commentary (May 28) to the effect that members of the Labour Party who are trying to make their

This is the first of two articles by

Wilfred Wellock

Next week he will write on "The Politics of Unilateral Disarmament."

Therefore since both these ideologies rest on power, by which I mean on values which cannot be sustained except by power, the only hope of peace lies in the conduct of the lesser Powers. These are the cardinal facts in the present world situation, and they cannot be too strongly emphasised or too often repeated.

Into power blocks

From now on all the lesser Powers will shape their economic and political policies with these facts in mind, while the force of economic circumstances will cause them to gravitate towards the one or the other power block, whose controllers will decide the issue of the third world war—unless they (the lesser Powers) grasp the fact that there is a third way, and that the issue of peace rests in their hands and not in those of the Big Two.

The chances of this second alternative are lessened by the prospect of economic and political breakdown along the entire front of the remaining industrial democracies and by the fact that the Big Two are the chief sources and controllers of financial and economic power, also of the main food supplies, by which these Powers may have to be saved from bankruptcy and starvation in due course. Many of these nations, of whom Britain is one, are in danger of having to choose between starvation and/or bankruptcy, and economic and military servitude to the U.S., unless they quickly and drastically change their policies.

Already the fear of bankruptcy or starvation, and of Communism, is driving the small nations of W. and N.W. Europe into a state of panic. Their natural inclinations are towards neutrality and disarmament (compatible with the maintenance of internal order), but economic and

Party Socialist are expending much sincere effort on the impossible and "taking on with more courage than discretion the hardest job in the world," will not deter members of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship from continuing to maintain within the

LETTERS

Party the international and moral significance of Socialism.

Idealists form a small minority in most political movements and the Labour Party is no exception.

Nevertheless, the achievement of Socialism in so far as it can be brought about by political action, is not likely to be hastened by the withdrawal from the only political party which professes Socialism of those of its members who have the clearest conception of what Socialism really means.

MAURICE BUTCHER.

68a Park Road, N.8.

Not uncomfortable

AS another civil servant, I should like to "dance to the Marxist music," according to Maurice Cranston, and to register disagreement with my "uncomfortable" colleague who wrote to you on May 7.

After noting with disappointment that the Government's decision to "purge" the Civil Service was greeted by PN at first by silence and then by ambiguous comment, I was

OUR FUND

I WAS interested to receive from one of our members a contribution with the note "To our Fund." It is so much more usual for those who send us money to talk about PPU Funds or even your Fund, but OUR FUND strikes just the right note. Whether it is in connection with annual subscriptions or the special appeal or this fortnightly appeal in Peace News, the money is required for the work which is the responsibility of all of us; it is OUR PPU, OUR work; OUR Fund, for which I again ask your help.

MAUD ROWNTREE,
Hon. Treasurer.

Contributions to HQ Fund since May 28: £2 5s. 0d. Year's total to date: £74 9s. 4d.
Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

ideological fear is leading them into financial and military dependence upon America, and towards a Western Union strongly armed with American aid.

Economic implications

It is in the light of this situation that the economic and social implications of an effective peace policy must be considered. Every new obligation to the U.S. on the part of these nations renders an effective peace policy more difficult. Hence a growing fear grips them all: they wonder what it may lead to in five or ten years. At the moment, they are being encouraged to believe that 1952 may witness their deliverance from a threatening thralldom, and politicians, who have no time for fundamental thinking, accept the prognosis all too readily, although many of them must realise that it is a gambler's hope. Worse still, it encourages them to hold on to an economy which some at least must suspect of having a doubtful future, and to whatever economic monopolies or other advantages they may possess.

Britain is in this category. In her case the claims of peace, which in the very nature of the present situation must include unilateral disarmament, have to combat the claims of power politics—oil rights and air bases in the Middle East, naval bases and Colonial resources in S. America, Colonial food plantations, raw materials, air or naval bases in Africa and the Far East. In other words, the old economy with its power politics and membership of the American power-block hang together, and mean war sooner or later.

The way of peace must lie beyond this impasse of power, in the politics of unilateral disarmament.

gratified to read of National Council's protest.

Taking only one aspect of the matter, I fail to see how Maurice Cranston or any pacifist can be concerned about the "security" of the State.

I have a bit of a reputation in some quarters as a "fellow-traveller" so I may be said to have a vested interest in stopping this "purge" and perhaps I look at it from a distorted view point. If so, may the gods preserve me from the "open mind" which supports the penalisation of individuals for the views they hold or for what some other individuals think they might do.

NANCY EDMONDS.

14 Howley Place,
London, W.2.

CIVILIZATION: IS THERE A CURE?

A Study in Foundations.
By ROBERT M. ENTWISTLE
From 29 Goodwyn Ave., London, N.W.2.
Post Free 10d.
Also from Housman's and Friends' Book Centre.

THEIR CHILDREN ARE HUNGRY

—an appeal from six German mothers

Re-printed from PN, with practical suggestions for helping "Save Europe Now," etc.

1s. 6d. 100—post free—15s. 1,000
Order now for immediate distribution.

PEACE NEWS LTD.

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

CHRIST — OR MILITARY NECESSITY?

THE condemnation of war by the Lambeth and Oxford Conferences had little, if any, effect on efforts to prevent World War II, to humanise the conduct of that war when it came, to achieve a "just and durable peace" when hostilities ended, or to arrest preparedness for a new war with atomic bombs some hundreds of times as destructive as the two which fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

When churchmen gather at Lambeth and Amsterdam this summer it will be incumbent upon them to search for the reasons which nullified the Christian opposition to war which the ecumenical movement undoubtedly wanted to make.

One obvious reason was that these conferences did not resolve the divided mind of the Church on the issue of participation in war by Christians. Oxford had to confess that the Church was a house divided against itself three ways. It offered no guidance and gave no light on the problem of how Christians could universally love each other as Christians while at the same time they killed each other as citizens. Although pacifist abstinence from war was admitted to be a legitimate course for some Christians who felt that they had that vocation, it was an elective matter for them to decide. The Church did not recommend conscientious objection for all members. It held to the theory that there might be a just war.

Thus, in every country, Church members were left exposed to the war propaganda of the nations where they were situated. And for the most part they went along with the national view of things and killed, bombed and blockaded fellow Christians and human beings en masse.

Next time

It will be the same way the next time unless the Church does more than condemn war verbally. If it cannot make up its mind to summon all members in all nations to oppose totally and unconditionally what is so totally incompatible with the mind of Christ, the spiritual decline of the Church may be expected to continue and accelerate in the atomic age which mankind is just entering.

President Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago, whose scientists played an important role in

releasing atomic fission, recently stated that there is no longer any secret about atomic bombs nor any defence against them. He asserts that "it is theoretically possible to make atomic bombs a thousand times more powerful than any thus far demonstrated," that two such bombs "by taking advantage of location of detonation and direction of prevailing winds . . . would have a fair chance of making the United States uninhabitable."

On the other hand if atomic energy is not unleashed for war it has enormous potentialities for good. Dr. Hutchins believes that it is the most important discovery since the discovery of fire, that medically it provides the most important tool since the invention of the microscope and that economically it is the most important innovation since the discovery of the wheel.

Momentous choice

Plainly the Church today is faced with one of the most momentous moral choices in her entire history. Can she make up her mind and achieve a unified mind about the use of atomic force by Christians? Is it to be controlled as an instrument for more abundant life and made subject to the law of Christ? Or is it to be given over to the service of death at the command of "military necessity"?

Perhaps it will not be too difficult for Lambeth and Amsterdam to pronounce that the Holy Catholic Church condemns atomic warfare. But the condemnation must be implemented by appropriate acts of total resistance or it will avail almost nothing. Although the Church should not coerce the consciences of members, how can it have authority as voicing the Word of God, or as being the Body of Christ or mediator of the Holy Spirit if it rules that participation in atomic slaughter is an optional matter for Christians?

Now is the time when the Church should exert its full teaching power to persuade its members, and all people whom it can reach, to have nothing to do with the next war. It should promise its utmost support to conscientious objectors and all citizens who refuse to aid or sanction warfare. They should get the moral and financial backing which the Church has commonly given to soldiers. It should completely withdraw its support from military agencies. There are other measures for peace that the Church should take, but renunciation of the sin of killing needs to come first.

War is sin

Once the Church is clear in its own mind that modern war is really sin and that God calls upon all Christians to renounce sinful methods in opposing evil, there will be revealed to the Church resources of the Spirit, often neglected but still confided to its keeping by Christ the Lord. Prayer, love, forgiveness, self-suffering, service and faith are its non-violent corporate weapons which "are not of this world but are mighty before God for overthrowing fortresses."

Man's extremity is God's opportunity. If grace should be given us to cast away the works of darkness and put upon us the armour of light, even yet there might be a Christian renaissance wide spreading through the missionary and ecumenical church that would change the face of civilisation. Instead of a tower of Babel we could then build a habitation for humanity.

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

Veteran American pacifist, Foundation member and Joint-Secretary with Rev. A. J. Muste, of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation. The FoR recently secured wide publicity for an appeal by American clergy to Christian youth both in and out of the armed forces asking that they should withdraw support immediately from all war preparations.

THIS PARSON FOUGHT WITHOUT GUNS

THE German branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation has organised and sponsored a tour of good will through Southern Germany, by the French pastor André Trocme.

André Trocme, whose lectures are being devoted to the promotion of friendship and understanding between the peoples of France and Germany, is well-known to many of our readers for his work at Le Chambon during the war.

During the Nazi occupation, Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, a little Huguenot town in the Cevennes, became a centre both of refuge and resistance. Here Trocme and another priest, Edouard Theiss, both of them members of the FoR, endeavoured to preach the truth each Sunday, and here hundreds of refugees—Spanish Republicans, disabled French soldiers, Alsations, Jews and political fugitives from Central Europe gathered together.

The following account of their activities was written by Trocme himself, published in the FoR Bulletin (No. 50):—

"The problem which faced French members of the FoR from 1938 onwards was not an easy one to solve. On the one hand, their Christian pacifist conviction would not allow them to help the advocates of the totalitarian state; on the other hand, the same conviction prohibited war and the use of violence as a means of solving the problems dividing the nations.

Cowardly policy

"The French Fellowship protested strongly against the cowardly policy of appeasement towards National Socialist aggressions at the time of the Munich Agreement and the annexation of Czechoslovakia. But when war was declared Philippe and Pierre Vernier and Henri Roser, who were called to the army, felt that it was not their duty to oppose force with force. The resistance of the Christian, they maintained, should be neither cowardly nor violent. But how difficult it is to make clear this resistance when passions are unleashed!

"The collapse of 1940 increased the hatred felt in France towards pacifists and war-resisters, who were accused of having caused the defeat. The new government was trying to set the national life going again, and to imitate in many respects what was being done on the other side of the Rhine. A certain number of non-Christian pacifists, deluded by the hope of a final reconciliation with Germany, closed their eyes to the national-socialist philosophy and preached a false reconciliation dictated by sentiment and by policy.

"The members of the Fellowship, on the contrary, their perception sharpened by loyalty to the Gospel, took up the struggle, not against the Germans, but against the national-socialist spirit wherever it showed itself, either among the occupying or among the occupied.

"At Le Chambon-sur-Lignon a Middle (Secondary) School started just before the war on Fellowship of Reconciliation principles quickly de-

STATESMANSHIP

"Real statesmanship would not advocate policies that can serve only to intensify the present causes of fear and friction. Another war—a war to rid the world of Stalinism—would most certainly result in the spread of totalitarianism all over the world.

"Real statesmanship today would seek to remove the present causes of fear and friction by seeking to make an honest demand for universal disarmament and would persevere in the attempt to bring atomic power under effective international control."

Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle of the World Peace Commission of the Methodist Church of America, on the occasion of President Truman's appeal for military conscription.

veloped and soon had 350 pupils. Five homes were opened for refugee children, the majority of them Jewish. This activity attracted the attention of the Vichy police and then of the Gestapo. In August an order came for the mass deportation of the Jews to Auschwitz.

"Of course we knew nothing definite, but we were sure that great suffering awaited the Jews. So a veritable peaceful revolt of the population was organised through the Churches and the Collège Cévenol. The Jews were hidden by the country-folk. We passed through times which reminded us of the Huguenot resistance of the 17th century. A large number of the Jews were able to get over the Swiss frontier; their identity was concealed, and they were accompanied by Protestant young people who had organised themselves under the name 'Cimade'.

"In spring 1943 the pastors of Le Chambon were imprisoned, and passed five weeks in a French concentration camp. Then the Gestapo arrested 25 refugee students, with the head of their home; the latter died in the Majdanek concentration camp in Poland. The pastors, threatened by the Gestapo with death, had to go into hiding for ten months.

"During their absence the spirit of the resistance which prevailed at Le Chambon underwent a certain change. Young Frenchmen who refused to work in Germany came to join the ordinary refugees, and formed a 'maquis.' Arms were dropped to them by aeroplane, and guerilla war against the Germans began.

Keeping peace

"When the pastors returned, they tried to maintain the Christian character of the local resistance movement. The leader of the maquis agreed that no fighting should be brought within the community. It was very difficult to keep up a peaceful spirit for blood flowed and hatred increased everywhere. A doctor from Le Chambon was executed by the Germans. When some weeks later the officers of the corps responsible for his imprisonment (though, as we hope, not for his death) were captured and brought to Le Chambon, one of the pastors went to visit them and held divine service for them. He took food also, which was very unfavourably regarded by opinion in some quarters.

"By the time these prisoners were transferred to another camp, all of them, Catholic and Protestant, had grown accustomed to reading the Bible again. Passionate discussions of Christianity and the possibility of the Christian life had brought enlightenment to more than one of them.

"Today Le Chambon is again a very quiet village where 300 middle-school boys and girls are being educated in the spirit of Jesus Christ."

THESE ORGANISATIONS OPPOSE CONSCRIPTION IN THE UNITED STATES

The following U.S. organisations oppose compulsory military training:

- Educational groups**
 - American Association of School Administrators
 - American Council on Education
 - Association of American Colleges
 - National Catholic Education Association
 - National Congress of Parents and Teachers
 - National Education Association
- Religious groups**
 - Central Conference of American Rabbis
 - Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon)
 - Disciples of Christ
 - Evangelical and Reformed Church
 - Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
 - Fraternal Council of Negro Churches in America
 - General Conference of the Methodist Church
 - National Catholic Welfare Conference
 - National Council of Catholic Women
 - Northern Baptist Convention
 - Presbyterian Church of the USA
 - Rabbinical Assembly of America
 - Southern Baptist Convention
 - United Council of Church Women
 - Women's Christian Temperance Union
- Farm groups**
 - American Farm Bureau Federation
 - National Farmers Union
 - National Grange
- Labour groups**
 - American Federation of Labour
 - Congress of Industrial Organisations
 - International Association of Machinists
 - Railroad Brotherhoods
- Veterans' organisations**
 - American Veterans' Committee
 - National Conference of Union Labour Legionnaires

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

India Will Support World Government

—PANDIT NEHRU

PANDIT NEHRU, Prime Minister of India, has welcomed the efforts being made by the World Movement for World Federal Government in a letter to Mr. Edward T. Clark, Vice-President of the Movement, who met Pandit Nehru in Delhi in April in the course of a world tour.

"I have no doubt in my mind," wrote Pandit Nehru, "that the only way for the solution of the world's major problems is for some kind of a world government to develop. I have stated as much in public on many occasions. I welcome, therefore, every attempt that it made to educate and direct public opinion to this end and I wish you success in your endeavours."

NOT SO DIFFICULT

"The actual working out of a scheme would naturally involve very careful consideration of all the aspects of the problem. Yet I think that the mechanical part of it is not so very difficult. The real difficulty is how to tackle the psychological and to some extent economic barriers that come in our way. The first step therefore, should be to remove these psychological barriers and the Movement you are working for will no doubt help in this process."

"So far as India is concerned we have repeatedly expressed our opinion in favour of the development of an international organisation or some kind of World Movement which gives full autonomy to its various national units and which at the same time removes the causes of war and national conflict."

"The Indian National Congress has expressed itself on these lines on several occasions and even during the course of the last world war."

"While I appreciate and welcome all efforts to promote international peace and goodwill and World Government on the basis of freedom of nations and peoples, you will appreciate that, in view of my official position, I cannot associate myself with pledges and non-official organisations."

"When the time comes, I have little doubt that the Government and people of India will gladly take part in this Movement for world peace, freedom and welfare."

—India News.

THE BROCKEN

George M.
Li. Davies

MOUNTAINEERS describe the "brocken" of gigantic fantastic shapes seen on the snows in certain aspects of sunlight. They are but ghostly shadows of themselves. Something of the kind is seen today upon the world-stage in the terrors, cruelties, crimes and callousness of homo sapiens in the twentieth century.

At the Cinema children learn to applaud the feats of some successful gangster, as in the Press their parents learned to applaud in the war some journalist's account of "how we got to work with the bayonet." The pose of "toughness" became popular with the young miner as with the young American soldier and as it had become popular in Germany before the war, but the nemesis of reprisal is coming home to us with its new fears.

DESCENT OF THE SOUL

"Warfare implies a descent of the soul to the plane where it is waged, and on that plane it cannot act in fullness or bring with it love, pity or forgiveness, or any of its diviner elements. There is another reason why spiritual ideals may not be preserved by warfare, and that is because it is in its nature to evoke hatred. Love and hate have a magical transforming power. They are the great soul changers. We grow through their exercise into the likeness of what we contemplate. By intensity of hatred nations create in themselves the character they imagine in their enemies. Hence it comes that all passionate conflicts result in an interchange of characteristics. We might say with truth, those who hate open a door by which their enemies enter and make their own the secret places of the heart."

These were the reflections of A.E., the Irish Pacifist philosopher and poet during the Irish civil war, in "The Interpreters"—his study of the age-long problem "how right can find its appropriate might and the politics of time accord with the politics of eternity."

I remember A.E. in 1921, on the steps of Erskine Childers' home in Dublin, telling me how he was then writing this work for which, he said, "he had gone more into the innermost than in any book he had written." Within a year, Erskine Childers had been shot by the Irish Government he had fought to establish, and his former comrades were at war with one another. Perhaps it must needs be so, but for the grace of God, in the aftermath of all wars.

The patriotism and Zionism of the

Jew and the Messianism of his leaders are seen on the world-stage today in the lurid light of violence, bombing, indiscriminate murder and robbery. The Promised Land and the holy places have been re-gained, but they have been desecrated in precisely the words of Christ's warnings twenty centuries ago: "Is it not written 'My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations, but ye have made it a den of robbers.'"

India, too, is on the world-stage today. During the last year the world has seen the culmination of Mr. Gandhi's long campaign for the independence of his country. Today India is free from everything but her own people and her own past. The massacre of thousands and the migration of millions of fugitives are atrocities worse than the British Raj ever perpetrated.

Self-government may be the first demand of all nations, but government of the self is the next demand and a far more difficult one. There is an acute saying of H. G. Wells "It is an infallible sign of the natural man that he thinks he is united when he is united against someone." Antagonies of this kind must lead to agonies in the end, as seen in Dublin in Sean O'Casey's play "Juno and the Paycock" with Irish freedom in terms of Dublin slums.

THE REAL CONFLICT

Was it the realisation that the real conflict and the real freedom are deeper things that caused Jesus to say "Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul, but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." It was a common confession of soldiers that "war is hell."

Today the fear of men takes the form of the Atom Bomb, and America, for all her powers and possession of its secrets, is more apprehensive than any country; but it is the fear of evil, not the form of evil, that is the reality. A Welsh preacher a century ago compared this fear of men with the fear of God.

"Who could turn all creation against thee in the twinkling of an eye—the plagues, wars, famine, and all the elements the fire and the wind; or could effect thy most doleful death through insignificant things, like an insect, a little pin, a drink of water, a cold wind, heat, tempest, fear. If I were to see an army of a hundred thousand armed men coming against me from the Queen of England, and an insect of God's sending, I should be more afraid of the insect from God because omnipotence is behind it."

Is it in this sense that "the fear of

God is the beginning of wisdom," in the conscience that does not abstract enmities but personalises response and responsibility?

This was apparently the last lesson in the training of the Twelve according to the last Chapter of St. John, that when Peter was now ashamed to profane the word "love" in his profession of it and used a weaker word to avow his feeling, Jesus directed his feeling into action—"Feed my lambs," "Shepherd my sheep" after each avowal; the self-possession of youth, dressing as one liked, going where one would, was to be replaced by another will:

"Our wills are ours we know not how
Our wills are ours to make them Thine."

STEPS OF FAITH

The last steps of faith are not to leave the shadows of ourselves upon the world, but to follow the Leader in this strange mountaineering. The Führerprinzip in Germany may have been a right principle had they followed the right leader, but there are "blind leaders of the blind." The disciples were warned against accepting the authority of men as Teacher or as Master, "For one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." Here is the basis of Christian democracy, not the counting of heads, either for bullet or ballot, but counting the hearts of brethren as the true possession.

The last step of all in Peter's training to follow may be called the renunciation of comparative religion. Reluctant to follow the hard path to which Jesus pointed, he had asked of a fellow-disciple whose lot seemed easier: "Master, but what about this man?" The reply is clear and conclusive: "What is that to thee; follow thou me!" There is a comparative religion that has wrought havoc in the world and in the Church. I do not mean merely the crude comparisons and conflicts between Saracens and Crusaders (both claiming to be in a Holy War) between Moslem and Hindu, or Arab and Jew today, but between Catholic and Protestant, Anglican and Nonconformist, Fundamentalist and Modernist, Socialist and Pacifist and the rest.

GANDHI'S ANSWER

When Mr. Gandhi was a guest at Balliol College Dr. Lindsay's son asked him if he was a Christian; Gandhi smiled and answered, "Ask that question to your father." In view of Gandhi's life and death perhaps we will ask anew, "What is a Christian?" Gandhi had himself said to a friend "India will always need Christ but does not need Anglo-American middle-class religion."

In our zeal for the ethic we forget the Evangel; in our loyalty to an ethical sect we forget the whole, and become cut off, like the Pharisee who thanked God that he was not as other men. There is an inveterate tendency in mankind to "justification by works" by comparing our life and lot with others, and by "compounding for the sins we are inclined to by damning those we have no mind to. When George Meredith was congratulated by an enthusiastic friend who had read The Egoist "I know a man who is exactly like that," Meredith replied "My dear fellow; we are all in it."

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, June 11, 1938

Dr. Niemoller is still in prison, with every prospect of remaining there until he promises not to take an active part in the Church struggle.

* * *

What is called public opinion can be terribly callous and brutal. Always, in war-time, sometimes in days of peace, the multitude cries out for reprisals and vengeance against what they describe as national and international crimes. It is this attitude of mind that has to be changed.

—George Lansbury.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or connexion with, the matter advertised.

GERMAN WAR RESISTERS' SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

DELEGATES BROADCAST ON THE WORK OF THE W.R.I.

ARRIVING at Stuttgart on May 28, we were met by the Bund's indefatigable Secretary Theodor Michaltscheff and the Stuttgart Secretary Frau Rosa Lohse-Link, together with our two Australian friends who had arrived just before us. We were taken to a brand-new hotel, only opened two days before our arrival under the auspices of the Board of Trade. There was every comfort and unstinted provision of good food, which made us feel rather ashamed. Nevertheless it was a great advance on the military hotels, as it was possible to invite our German friends to join us.

That evening we met at Frau Lohse-Link's flat, where the Burgo-master of Stuttgart was waiting to receive us. Herr Josef Hirn, Burgo-master, is one of the most distinguished financial experts in Germany and it is due to his energy and ability that more preparatory work for the rebuilding of the country has been done in Stuttgart than in any other place.

We spent the evening questioning Herr Hirn about the proposed reform of the Mark. It is expected that within a few weeks a new Mark will be introduced, and there is great concern as to the effect of this on many of the German people. It appears that on a certain day everyone will have to pay in all their savings through their banks or at a special office. The whole population will receive fifteen new Marks each and those who have paid in will receive ten per cent. of their money in the new Mark.

It is feared that this will have the effect of wiping out all the savings and be very disastrous to old people

RUNHAM BROWN

Chairman of the War Resisters' International sends the following report of the Second Annual Meeting of the German Section—"Bund der Kriegsdienstgegner" (Union of resisters to all war service)—held in Stuttgart on May 29 and 30. Grace Beaton, Secretary of the International also attended. Delay in the issue of their permits prevented Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU and Frank Lea, Editor of Peace News travelling to Germany in time for the Conference.

and those who are not able immediately to earn their living. At the same time it is claimed that it will largely kill the black-market. Many Germans feel that there should be adequate provision for people with small savings.

The atmosphere is full of rumour and foreboding.

The next day the conference began with some fifty delegates drawn from all over Western Germany and Berlin. There were also representatives from France and Belgium, a small car-load from Denmark and many fraternal delegates from the Friedensgesellschaft (German Peace Society) and other sympathetic movements. I had to speak on the first morning on the long-term objective of the International, and in the afternoon Grace spoke of the practical ways and means of day-to-day work. In the evening Heinz Kraschützki from Berlin made a brilliant plea for better understanding between East and West.

The following day, while Grace Beaton assisted in the domestic discussions of the Bund, I took part in a broadcast discussion on the work of the War Resisters' International, which may be of some little propa-

ganda value. A French, Belgian and German delegate also spoke.

The two-days Conference was marked with a wonderfully fine spirit. Our German friends tell each other off on occasions, but always take it in good part. Their energy and enthusiasm under the present appalling conditions are remarkable and inspiring.

On Sunday morning the small theatre, the only one which has been renovated, was packed with the public of Stuttgart. The platform was beautifully decorated by the municipality. They listened to some dozen speeches, speakers being drawn from many parts of the world.

Perhaps the most impressive was that of a young American FoR speaker, who, with the utmost modesty, expressed the horror that many Americans felt at seeing the devastation which they had wrought on the cities of Germany. This was immediately responded to by a young German who expressed a similar shame for the part that they had played in the war.

After several smaller gatherings, we returned home with a feeling that we had met a very earnest part of our world-wide family, people who would let no hardships and difficulties stand in the way of achieving their great ideal.

"This House believes that the dropping of the atom bomb was neither politically expedient nor morally justifiable."

No! Says Bryan Anstey

It is a tragedy of the first water that a man can be found who sincerely opposes this motion. If he really knew what he were doing it might be that the only answer that could be made to him would be silence. Indeed in the last resort a silent acceptance of the evil done to him might be the Pacifist's only true answer.

Since words are to be used, however, it is important to examine them carefully so that true judgment of the issue can be made. "This house believes that the dropping of the Atom Bomb was neither politically expedient nor morally justifiable." I am glad that the Forum is willing to face the issue and decide for itself; unless people know where they themselves stand they cannot have a message for anyone else. The word "believes" is used—what we believe is the strongest and most important factor in our lives, for all that we do is conditioned by what we believe.

Thoughts and actions

The word "dropping" is of great importance. The motion is concerned with the translation of thought into positive harmful action. It is better to think only good thoughts and not to have cowardly or wicked ideas, but weak or fearful thoughts do not always result in evil. The spirit and conscience of man can step in and fire the will to resist evil and to take right action. By contrast the actual dropping of the bomb is a definite decision translated into action to kill the innocent and guilty alike. Indeed it is not politically effective nor morally feasible in modern war to kill the guilty first. We have to face the fact that "to win" a modern war the innocent, preferably the women and children, must be killed first.

If a sufficiently short view is taken the dropping of the bomb can be regarded as politically expedient, and indeed it was on those grounds that it was dropped; but if the long view, even in the political sphere is taken, it will be seen that it was not expedient since it has raised, not only for the vanquished but for all mankind including the victors, more fears,

Publications Received

The House of Lords is the bone in a Fabian Publication pamphlet *Lords and Commons* (2s.) very much to the point. It is clear from this that however innocuous the new Criminal Code may show it to be still a continuous fight against the uplifting of the poor and unfortunate. Conservatism, of a country's culture is one thing, but the Upper House in the past, quite another. This booklet makes it clear that if the Second Chamber survives unchanged it will be in the expectation of its being truly Conservative in the future, and entirely in spite of its past record.

P.T.G.

CIVILIZATION: IS THERE A CURE

The attention of readers is drawn to the advertisement of this book appearing on page two. This gives the correct price and publisher's address, wrongly stated in the short notice which appeared last week under the heading "Publications Received."

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 8d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MEETINGS, &c.

THE BISHOPS and War. Don't forget the public mtg. in Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1. on Tuesday next, June 15, at 7.30 p.m. Miss Vera Brittain, Archdeacon Hartill, and the Rev. Paul Gliddon will speak. Chairman: the Rev. B. C. Hopson, of Cockfosters. All welcome.

ACCOMMODATION

WOULD ANY family holidaying Aug.-Sept. let house to 2 couples and baby, preferably coast. Professionals. Every care taken. Box 904.

TO LET furn.: 2-berth Caravan. July & Sept. £1 1s. 6d. weekly. "Jasmine." Hum Rd., Christchurch, Hants.

CORNWALL. JOAN and Herbert Lennox (late of Manchester) announce Easter opening of Atlantic Guest House, Summerleaze Crescent, Bude. Every comfort.

BIDEFORD DEVON. Holiday accomd., good food, children welcome. "Walhouse," Chudleigh Ave.

SHOULD WE USE THE ATOMIC BOMB?

Yes! Says Major Alan de Russet

I SEE no legitimate distinction, valid morally or intellectually, between the dropping of atom bombs and the destruction of cities by mass bombing or massed artillery fire. To maintain that the first is wrong, and the others justifiable would be hypocrisy. Furthermore, there is absolutely no evidence that war could be made safer by the international banning of certain unpleasant weapons. Gas was not used in the last war because it was both an inefficient weapon and a two-edged one; fear and not a moral conscience determined its disuse. Nations that dropped atom bombs, or nations that systematically murdered in cold blood millions of Jewish women and children, could have refrained for no other reason. Therefore the motion under debate is simply a rejection of taking part in war and as such I will analyse it.

The only way to abolish atom bombs is to abolish war. And the way to abolish war is not to refuse to take part in it, and to equate aggres-

sor with aggressed, the lover of war with the lover of peace. The way to stop war is to make the path of an intending aggressor so hellish that he chooses the paths of peace; and at the same time to make, through the social, humanitarian and economic work of the United Nations, the paths of peace so rewarding that intending aggressors as a species die out, and the habit of peace becomes fixed in mankind.

You must prepare

But to start this progress you must be prepared to go to war; and if you are prepared to go to war you must be prepared to drop atom bombs; there is no point in threatening defensive war unless you intend to win it.

A determined system of collective security must be constructed within the United Nations; the peace-loving majority must stand firm against any aggressor and make it so plain that they will tear him to death if he attacks that he chooses otherwise.

If an aggressor still chooses to fight, then however horrible the short sharp war that follows, it could not be worse than the peace of death that would have followed giving in to him. Totalitarian peace would be far worse than war. Every decent man and woman would be murdered, their children, together with the drones, cynics, and anti-social peoples welded into a people without God. In this atmosphere nothing fine could survive.

Nonsense about Norway

All pacifist talk of passive-resistance is false. Passive resistance to be successful depends upon the ultimate sanction of force. The pastors of Norway, of whom so much nonsense is talked, relied upon fifteen thousand Scottish troops awaiting to invade should the Germans so incense the Norwegians that their defences were in danger; they relied on the British navy preventing the Germans killing the few million inhabitants of Norway (far less than they killed in Poland) and replacing them with Baltic Germans. The proposer of the motion is only alive today because the opposer and many million others saved his life. Gandhi's passive resistance only worked because of British fear of the physical power of 400,000,000 incensed Indians. But totalitarians above all are not afraid of moral pressure without armed backing. They kill in millions. Pacifists are unaware of the change that has taken place in the world since the inefficient, almost sentimental persecutions of past centuries upon which their philosophies are built.

It would be madness to invite this utter destruction, devastation and annihilation of all decent life, because you will not take a stand beside your millions of peace-loving friends, and by facing an aggressor with war—and the atom bomb to the forefront—make war so highly unlikely, and finally unthinkable, that decent men and women can live freely and fully, and even pacifists practise their happy arts.

"The choice today is between



TOTAL WAR

and

TOTAL PEACE



ERNEST BEVIN, June, 1946

Which are YOU preparing for?

I RENOUNCE WAR
AND I WILL NEVER
SUPPORT OR SANCTION

ANOTHER

is the pledge of human
brotherhood — the only
total preparation for

PEACE

Write to the
PEACE PLEDGE UNION
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

Above: Reduced reproduction of the 4-page folder being distributed outside the Olympia, London, where the Royal Tournament is taking place.

Volunteers who will either distribute the leaflets or sell Peace News should send their names and addresses to Gwyneth Anderson, at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1 (Telephone E Uston 5501).

THE
REAL
TOURNAMENT

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LAKE DISTRICT. "Beck Allans" and "Rothay Bank," Grasmere. Attractive Guest Houses for strenuous or restful holidays. First class vegetarian diet. Dormitory accommodation at special rates. Enquiries to: Isabel James at Beck Allans. Tel.: Grasmere 129.

SEASIDE HOLIDAY acmtdn. for Vegetarians and others welcomed. Vegetarians at Innisfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

ILFRACOMBE. CHRIS Collis "Pinehurst," Chambercombe Park. Lovely country. Nr. Sea. Few vacancies still available.

EDUCATIONAL

PROGRESSIVE CO-ED school. Usual subjects. Art ciezh methods. Where atmosphere of approval and affection promote health, happiness and intelligence. Home produce, balanced diet. Prospectus, Tony Warner, Oakley Wood School, Sherwood House, Nr. Newton-St.-Cyres, Devon.

A SUMMER School will be held at Horsley Hall, Eccleshall, Staffs., during the month of August, for the study of educational method. Lectures. Films. Discussion. Recreational facilities. Good food. 4 gns. a week inclusive. Applicants should write to the Secretary.

METAPHYSICS, PSYCHOLOGY, Philosophy. Intensive courses of home study leading to various distinctions, and membership. Prospectus post free. Institute of Life Science, 18 (PNS), Manchester St., London, W.1.

CORRESPONDENCE AND visit lessons, speaking and writing (6s.) Classes. Tuesdays, Wednesdays. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRI. 5686.

FOR SALE & WANTED

REBILIX MUST buy typewriters. We arrange advertisements and pay good commissions to any contacts in provinces who will forward replies. Full details from Rebilix Typewriter Co. Ltd., 564 London Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

PORTABLE ELECTRIC, alternative batteries, perfect condition £12. Box 835.

"HAPPY BIRTHDAY." Beautiful Birthday and Occasional Greeting cards, and charming booklets. Sample packets 2s. 6d. to 5s. Also dainty, useful gifts. Sample packets 5s., 10s. M. Everett, The Wool Shop, Catworth, Hants.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

JANE AUSTEN Complete Novels in one "Giant" volume. Modern Library edn. Just arrived from the USA. 1,364 pages. 16s. 6d. post free. Also, Anthony Trollope's "The Eustace Diamonds," 8s. post free. From: Book Searchers Ltd., 81a Dawes Rd., S.W.6.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Situations are available only to applicants excepted from the Control of Engagement Order, 1947, No. 2021.

HOME WITH student's wife offered friendly woman, about year from end July, in return for companionship, little help, and small payment. Foreigner welcome. S.E.20 district. Please write fully. Box 903.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED EXPERT DUPLICATING Service. Enquiries invited. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, London, N.5. Tel. CANonbury 3832.

OFFICE MANAGER, 32, sixteen years' experience all accounts, capable controlling staff, desires similar position with firm of repute. Box 902.

MISCELLANEOUS

GOOD PRINTING of every description. Enquiries welcomed. Feighon Dingley Co., Brackley Sq., Woodford Green.

SEE GLORIOUS London! Complete holiday with tours, theatre, visits, etc. £8 8s. 0d. inclusive. Brochure, J. C. Mee, 66 New Bond St., London, W.1.

4 FT. HEAVY TOMATO canes for immediate delivery, 22s. per 100. All sizes garden canes stocked, 12" to 10ft. Also drain canes, and basket cane. Whines & Edgeler, The Bamboo People, Godmanstone, Dorchester.

INCOME TAX and Accounts, Company formations, audits, etc., undertaken by C.O. practitioner. Box 899.

LIFE ASSURANCE—£1,000 for £3 year. Accident, £10 week for £3 year. R. C. Horwood, Turvey, Bedford.

GOLDEN LINK Circle. Free membership to those who are sick or distressed. Full particulars, post free, from: Institute of Life Science, (PNSC), Manchester St., London, W.1.

Britain's vulnerable position

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

secure legislative prohibition of Miss Smith calling herself Mrs. Brown when she is "living in sin." Such discriminating moral concern is, in one sense, most enlightening.

Reason, wisdom and charity have no doubt progressed during the centuries, and thus we no longer, for the good of their souls, thrash or chain lunatics, burn witches, execute thieves, brand beggars, torture heretics (at least, not in Britain) stone sexual offenders or pursue other penal operations once stoutly held to be socially, morally, and religiously necessary. Nevertheless, we may still be at the stage of juvenile moral consciousness. Otherwise, there would be more general sympathetic consideration of the advisability of preferring the risks of drastically reducing military preparations to the risks of not doing so.

Of unsound mind

BRITAIN'S economic position is precarious, and there is a paramount need of great economic improvement in production and exports, together with a substantial increase of labour in mining, agriculture and other spheres. Yet we retain upward of a million men under arms, and heavily burden our national budget with the cost at a time when a vast expansion of social services must also be paid for. It hardly makes sense. But then, neither is there much sense in the fact that millions of the earth's inhabitants are malnourished and slowly or swiftly dying from hunger while the appeal of such as Sir John Boyd Orr goes largely unheeded.

The rational and wise plan would be for the nations and peoples of the world to concentrate on this problem: the degree to which they are doing so is the measure of racial sanity achieved.

Even the partial and localised efforts to secure organised co-operation involve military considerations; and any attempt to eliminate them is beset with intricate difficulties. Concentration on food production, for instance, cannot be divorced from the need of manufacturing agricultural implements and providing transport, so that it would not be impious to pray, "Give us this day our daily oil" as well as bread. Without oil the task of conveying passengers, food and goods from one area to another would collapse. Hence the contention that military means must safeguard the oil and other essentials of modern civilisation. Nevertheless, successful international absorption in organising the production and distribution of basic necessities could have the cumulative psychological effect of encouraging the co-operative habit and diminishing the paralysing recalcitrance of national fears.

Palestine model

HAD this principle been applied to Palestine in the beginning the

present suicidal tragedy might have been averted, although this does not ignore the powerful factor of psychological communal tension and of the disturbing invasion of provocative external interests. Oil flows through Palestine more significantly than milk and honey. Even so, it would be as misleading to interpret the Palestinian bloodshed as primarily attributable to that as it would be to explain the two World Wars as simply arising from power politics.

No one motive exclusively dominates either individuals or nations.

And so in Palestine there are economic, strategic, racial, ethical, and political elements contributing to the disastrous vortex threatening two semitic peoples.

If more powerful Christian nations had actively focussed efforts in assisting both Jew and Arab to build a flourishing land, enmity might not have become so virulent. Perhaps the firm offer to implement the "TVA" Jordan scheme might even now have some effect.

Arab-Jew Federation might come when European Federation has made greater progress. The Labour Party has been criticised for not hailing the Hague Conference as a step in the right direction. But it is necessary to recognise that a form of multinational authority involving all its members in false or dangerous conceptions and obligations may frustrate a nation's moral contribution to the world. The Six Power Pact on Germany is being bitterly assailed by a French combination of De Gaullists and Communists, and such a combination could conceivably dominate Western Union.

Better off alone

BRITAIN is particularly vulnerable in this respect, both because of her difficult economic position and her great responsibility of vindicating the efficacy of democratic ideas. She has lost her former economic supremacy for good—or bad, and she can either drift downward to the general European level or attain economic reconstruction that will fulfil social aspirations without detriment to other peoples. It is a colossal job, requiring moral and biological as well as economic considerations.

We may secure a fair share of world trade by specialised aptitude and an increased proportion of food from our own soil. Yet we shall still need the balance of variegated food from abroad and material for other needs and amenities. If a high target of coal and steel is not reached then inadequate manufacture and exports will involve unpleasant social simplification. In anticipation of this there are some who propose immediate reorientation towards a decentralised less mechanical social pattern, and others the emigration of 10,000,000 to the Dominions, although South Africa may prove inhospitable. Either course would evoke acute new problems. Industrial contraction necessitates sweeping adjustments, for insufficiency of anaesthetics and petrol would require severe social discipline and candles in place of candle-power would lose a dining-table romanticism.

Malthusiana

PARADOXICALLY, while science can alone nullify the Malthusian thesis, it has temporarily aggravated Britain's problem by providing the knowledge and means of contraception, so that we are in sight of a declining population outweighed by elderly non-producers. This alternative to infanticide and a large celibate priesthood needs to be associated with a positive procreative policy within the framework of economic reconstruction in order that the housing problem may be caught up and healthy population proportions be secured. The direction of this in the interest of military defence would be wasteful and futile, and in any case incomparable with the over 20,000,000 aggregate increase in Russia, India and China.

Let us hope we shall not emulate those other European nations who seek to solve their biological needs by a prosaic system of penalties and rewards, but rely rather on the inspiration of those creative values that appreciate quality more than quantity, and that alone provide sustenance for constructive social effort.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by W. F. Clifford Printing Co. Ltd. (T.U.), London, N.16.

TRAVELLING FOR PEACE AT 81

AN appeal to women to shoulder their responsibilities in preventing another war was made by Emily Greene Balch, International President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and 1946 Nobel Peace Prize winner, when she spoke in a BBC "Woman's Hour" broadcast on Wednesday, June 2.

At the age of eighty-one she has been visiting sections of the WIL in Scandinavia, Germany and Britain. In her broadcast she reminded listeners that she had started her journey from the USA when tension between the East and the West was at its height and there was a great deal of talk of rearmament and inevitable war.

"I am quite convinced," said Emily Greene Balch, "that people use the wrong adjective—we ought never to speak of war as inevitable. We should think of it as something we choose not to have happen; as something unthinkable. War doesn't happen like an earthquake—it is something you can do something about. And believe me, the simplest woman, living isolated in a little place, seeing few people but her own children and her own immediate neighbours, shares in the responsibility for peace or war and has a part to play in making war impossible."

"Jesuit priests said that what you did with a child before he was seven determined his life, and now the psychologists are telling us of the enormous importance of the impressions of early childhood, and even of babehood."

"Now these are things which are mostly in the hands of women. What happens to the little children playing about the mother as she works is of the utmost importance to the future of the world. The world is going to be shaped by the children who are growing up now—for the kind of children that grow up will be the kind of people who will make the world."

Headquarters of the Women's International League in Britain are at 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

FOREIGN BROADCASTS OF NEWS IN ENGLISH

CZECHOSLOVAKIA			
Time GMT	Station	kc/s	Metres
1745-1800	Podebrady	11760	25.51
1945-2000	"	9550	31.41
2145-2200	"	9550	31.41
FRANCE			
2130-2230	Limoges I.	648	463
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA			
0530-0545	Brazzaville	9440	31.78
		11685	25.67
		15595	19.24
1845-1900	"	9440	31.78
		11970	25.06
2045-2100	"	9440	31.78
		11970	25.06
		17845	16.81
GREECE			
1630-1645		7300	41.1
HOLLAND			
* 1800-1815	Huizen PCJ	11730	25.58
		9590	31.28
		6025	49.79
ITALY			
+ 1610-1630	Busto Arsizio I.	15120	19.84
		11810	25.4
1930-2000	"	11810	25.4
		9630	31.15
SPAIN			
2000-2030	Madrid—Arganda del Rey	9320	32.20

*Not Sundays. †Alternate Sundays.

FAITH HEALING

Practitioner brings Peace, Hope and Faith to Supposed Incurables, Nerve Cases, etc., in Hants, Dorset, Wilts., Isle of Wight, Berks. and London Areas. Apply:—

J. P. GRANT,
BURLEY, HANTS.
or
BCM/FAITH, LONDON, W.C.1.

RUG WOOL

Extra long pure wool Thrums. Mixed colours; suitable for Hessian, Canvas, or knitting a Rug.

PACKETS 4/11d. APPROX. 1 lb.

Send P.O. 6d. for sample and Knit-a-Rug instructional leaflet, showing how to make a rug without canvas.

HANKS: solid colours, 5lb. assortments, only 7s. 9d. per lb.

Full range of rug shades but special colours cannot be selected.

Refund if dissatisfied.

U.T.A. 73 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.2.

Must Dockside Dictators be endured?

SINCE last July the Freedom Defence Committee has been investigating a number of instances of alleged abuse of their authority by Immigration Officers at the ports of Newhaven and Dover. The replies of the Home Office to questions submitted to them have been so evasive and unsatisfactory, that the Committee has made the whole correspondence public, pointing out that "these documents indicate a trend, becoming every day more noticeable, of apparent reluctance on the part of officials in Government departments to reply to questions regarding the actions of officers under their supervision."

The investigation arose out of the complaints of two French nationals, Dr. Suzanne Kepes and M. Jacques Doubinsky, who were detained at Newhaven on June 28, 1947, questioned and searched, M. Doubinsky being subsequently refused permission to enter this country.

According to the Home Office "M. Doubinsky failed to satisfy the Immigration Officers that he could comply with the provisions of the Aliens Order": but no reasons for this allegation were ever given.

In another case, that of M. Jules Klieger, permission to re-enter this country after a visit to Belgium was refused, again without any reason.

Furthermore, in direct contravention of the regulation which states that a person being searched shall be requested to remove the outer garments only, both Dr. Kepes and M. Klieger were ordered to strip entirely.

The Freedom Defence Committee has proposed that steps should be taken by the Secretary of State to safeguard the rights of travellers.

They ask that persons refused entry be given the right to contact their friends in this country and to appeal against adverse decisions.

GARLISOL

AFTER 5000 YEARS

If garlic is not a universal remedy and a renewer of health and youth, it appears at least to come nearer to that dream than any known thing given by nature for the use of man. Nor is there anything specially magical about this—certainly nothing to strain the reasonable powers of belief. It is all quite simple and entirely natural. Consider a homely example. Most of us who have lived through the austerities of spring cleaning and interior decorations know the old recipe of half an onion left in a newly-painted room. This, of course, is no mystic ritual: it originates in the common knowledge that a raw onion cleanses the air around it by attracting into itself any impurity it discovers there. There are grimly picturesque stories from the seventeenth century about the days of the great plague of London. They tell of whole households saved from the scourge by the good offices of garlic—which contains the same basic properties as the onion but in a very much stronger form. Oil of garlic, in fact, is a natural and a very potent disinfecting medium, and it has 5,000 years of history.

Send stamp for 20 page booklet about garlic

Garlic Deodorised Antiseptics Ltd.,
Fairlight, Sussex

ALL COUPON FREE

Nylon Parachute Material

In white, primrose or old gold, all new long panels, ideal for undies, dresses, curtains.

25s. parcel, postage 9d.

Egyptian Cotton Parachute Material

Long panels, no cross seams, pastel shades, orange, primrose, sky, green, rose or white.

25s. parcel, postage 9d.

Furnishing Fabric

Dyed Hessian, close weave, fast dye, ideal for curtains or loose covers. Attractive shades, gold, sky, brown, green, rust or tomato, any length supplied. 40" wide, 5s. 11d. per yard, postage 1s. 5d. 54" wide 6s. 11d. per yard, postage 1s. Samples available. Please send 6d. stamps and addressed envelope.

American Cloth

Table baize, for tables, shelves, etc., cotton back, will not crack or crease, printed tile pattern in light green or sky, width 37in.

10s. 3d. yd., postage 1s.

Also white, in lengths 46in. x 16in. 5 lengths 20s., postage 1s.

CELIC & CO. (Dept. 774)

MAIL ORDER STORES, BEDFORD.